

Message Text

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TOVIP 34

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (MONDALE)

SUBJECT: PRESS BRIEFING

1. FOLLOWING IS UNCORRECTED REPEAT UNCORRECTED TEXT OF
SECRETARY VANCE'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF JANUARY 31, 1977,
FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY TO VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTY.

2. SECRETARY VANCE: GOOD MORNING.

I HAVE THREE MATTERS THAT I WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON
BRIEFLY BEFORE I TAKE QUESTIONS.

THE FIRST RELATES TO A MEETING WHICH I WILL BE HAVING
STARTING THIS MORNING AND CONTINUING THROUGH LUNCH WITH
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THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF PANAMA. HE IS COMING TODAY TO
DISCUSS THE RESUMPTION OF THE CANAL NEGOTIATIONS.

AFTER LUNCH, WHEN WE HAVE COMPLETED OUR DISCUSSIONS,
WE WILL MEET WITH THE PRESS BRIEFLY. WE WILL HAVE A
STATEMENT TO ISSUE AND WE WILL TAKE A FEW QUESTIONS.

SECONDLY, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A BRIEF STATEMENT
WITH RESPECT TO THE RHODESIAN ISSUE.

WE VERY MUCH REGRET THAT EFFORTS TO REACH A SATIS-
FACTORY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM
HAVE FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST BEEN DEALT A SERIOUS BLOW.

THE POSITION ANNOUNCED BY MR. IAN SMITH HAS RESULTED
IN A NEW AND MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION REGARDING THE
PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA. WE REMAIN
DEDICATED TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN
ISSUE LEADING TO MAJORITY RULE. WE ARE CONFERRING WITH
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND ARE CONTINUING TO CONSULT
WITH THE AFRICAN LEADERS MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH
THIS PROBLEM, AS WELL AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

THE BRITISH PROPOSAL REMAINS IN OUR VIEW A VALID
BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES SHOULD
UNDERSTAND CLEARLY THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES CAN THEY
COUNT ON ANY FORM OF AMERICAN ASSISTANCE IN THEIR EFFORT
TO PREVENT MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, OR TO ENTER INTO
NEGOTIATIONS WHICH EXCLUDE LEADERS OF NATIONALIST
MOVEMENTS.

THE SO-CALLED INTERNAL SOLUTION WILL NOT PRODUCE A
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND THEREFORE WILL NOT HAVE THE
SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES.

TO RE-EMPHASIZE OUR OPPOSITION TO THE MAINTENANCE
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OF MINORITY IMPOSED CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA,
THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL STRONGLY SUPPORT THE REPEAL
OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT. WE DO THIS IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR
INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, AND ALSO BECAUSE WE BELIEVE
IT REPRESENTS A STEP TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN
RHODESIA.

WE CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO ACT WITH FLEXIBILITY AND
RESTRAINT, AND TO GIVE THEIR SUPPORT TO A NEGOTIATED
SOLUTION THAT CAN BRING BOTH PEACE AND MAJORITY RULE
TO RHODESIA.

AND NOW A BRIEF WORD ABOUT MY TRAVEL PLANS.

AS YOU KNOW, I AM GOING TO THE MIDDLE EAST ON THE
14TH OF FEBRUARY. IN ADDITION TO THAT, I HAVE BEEN DIS-
CUSSING WITH THE SOVIET UNION A TRIP TO MOSCOW. I WILL
BE GOING TO MOSCOW IN MARCH AND I WILL HAVE AN ANNOUNCE-
MENT AS TO THE TIMING OF THAT TRIP LATER THIS WEEK.

AND NOW QUESTIONS.

3. Q JIM ANDERSON, UPI.

MR. SECRETARY, ON THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS, IS THIS ADMINISTRATION GOING TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE OF SPEAKING OUT ON CASES SUCH AS THE SAKHAROV EPISODE? OR ARE YOU GOING TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE OF YOUR PREDECESSOR EXERTING QUIET DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE, AND USING HIS CONCEPT OF LINKAGE?

4. SECRETARY VANCE: ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE PRESIDENT HAS OFTEN EXPRESSED HIS DEEP CONCERN IN THIS AREA, AND HAS REAFFIRMED THAT DEEP CONCERN IN THE INAUGURATION ADDRESS.

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WE WILL SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT INJUSTICE, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. WE DO NOT INTEND, HOWEVER, TO BE STRIDENT OR POLEMICAL, BUT WE DO BELIEVE THAT AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS A HUMAN VALUE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE, AND THAT IT MUST BE NOURISHED. WE WILL NOT COMMENT ON EACH AND EVERY ISSUE, BUT WE WILL FROM TIME TO TIME COMMENT WHEN WE SEE A THREAT TO HUMAN RIGHTS WHEN WE BELIEVE IT CONSTRUCTIVE TO DO SO.

5. Q MR. SECRETARY, BARRY SWEID OF AP.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT, ONE OF THE LOCAL PUNDITS YES-TERDAY CALLED IT SUDDEN DIPLOMACY, SUGGESTING THAT THIS SPEAKING OUT HASN'T BEEN VERY WELL THOUGHT OUT, PARTICULARLY ITS IMPACT ON DIPLOMACY.

YOU REFER TO YOUR TRIP TO MOSCOW. DO YOU THINK THE STATEMENT YOU HAVE MADE ON SAKHAROV AND YOUR GENERAL VIEW ON HUMAN RIGHTS WILL HAVE AN IMPACT, A NEGATIVE IMPACT, ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION? INDEED, ISN'T THAT WHAT MR. DOBRYNIN CALLED TO TELL YOU THE OTHER DAY?

6. SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT BELIEVE IT WILL HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT. AS I INDICATED, WE WILL, FROM TIME TO TIME, SPEAK OUT. I HAVE DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH MR. DOBRYNIN, BUT I AM SURE THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A WHOLE RANGE OF MATTERS WILL NOT BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY WHAT WE HAVE SAID.

7. Q MR. SECRETARY, JOHN WALLACH OF HEARST.

ON THE SOUTHERN AFRICA SITUATION, THERE IS A DEAD-LINE OF SORTS COMING UP IN MARCH WHEN THE AFRICANS HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL BRING THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE SAME MONTH THE UNITED STATES WILL

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BE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL.

DO YOU FEEL THAT IN THE INTERVENING PERIOD, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE ANY INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, YOUR OWN APPOINTING OF A NEGOTIATOR TO VISIT THE WHITE AREAS AS WELL AS THE WHITE NATIONS AS WELL AS THE BLACK NATIONS? OR SHOULD THE UNITED STATES STAY BACK AND LET THE BRITISH HANDLE THE SITUATION? IN OTHER WORDS, WHERE DO YOU FEEL WE SHOULD GO FROM HERE?

8. SECRETARY VANCE: INsofar as the SOUTHERN RHODESIA problem is concerned, the BRITISH quite properly are taking the leading role. WE WILL SUPPORT THE BRITISH IN THIS EFFORT AND WORK CLOSELY AND CAREFULLY WITH THEM. WE ARE IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH THE BRITISH, AND EXPECT TO MEET WITH IVOR RICHARD AS SOON AS HE COMPLETES HIS MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND WE WILL WORK OUT OUR PLANS IN CONCERT WITH THEM.

WITH RESPECT TO THE SECOND HALF OF YOUR QUESTION, WILL WE BE SENDING A SPECIAL EMISSARY TO THAT PART OF THE WORLD, I DO NOT HAVE ANY FINAL CONCLUSION IN MY OWN MIND ON THAT. I WANT TO THINK ABOUT THE PROBLEM MORE AND STUDY IT.

AS YOU KNOW, ANDREW YOUNG IS GOING TO DAR ES SALAAM, AND I WANT TO TALK TO HIM WHEN HE COMES BACK AND GET THE BENEFIT OF HIS VIEWS.

9. Q IS GENEVA STILL THE PROPER FORUM AS FAR AS YOU ARE CONCERNED FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS?

10. SECRETARY VANCE: YES, IT IS.

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11. Q MR. SECRETARY, DICK VALERIANI OF NBC.

ON THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, DO YOU PLAN TO GO--DOES THE ADMINISTRATION PLAN TO GO BEYOND SPEAKING OUT AND MAKING SOME OTHER KIND OF EFFORT TO GET VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO CHANGE CONDITIONS INTERNALLY, PERHAPS BY OFFERING CERTAIN BENEFITS IN TERMS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS YOU ARE CARRYING OUT WITH THEM?

12. SECRETARY VANCE: WE WILL COUPLE WHAT WE SAY

PUBLICLY WITH PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH VARIOUS COUNTRIES.
AND WE HOPE THAT WILL STRENGTHEN THE PROCESS OF PROGRESS
IN THIS AREA.

13. Q MR. SECRETARY, MURREY MARDER OF THE WASHINGTON
POST.

CAN YOU ANNOUNCE, SIR, NOW, THE HEAD OF THE ARMS
CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY? AND, SECONDLY, PRESIDENT
CARTER, DURING THE CAMPAIGN, WAS QUITE CRITICAL OF TWO
TREATIES WHICH ARE NOW PENDING IN CONGRESS ON THE
THRESHOLD NUCLEAR TEST BAN AND ON THE PEACEFUL NUCLEAR
EXPLOSION BAN. NEVERTHELESS, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS
DECLARED ITS SUPPORT FOR THOSE TWO PENDING TREATIES.

COULD YOU RECONCILE THAT POSITION, SIR?

14. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. ON YOUR FIRST QUESTION,
THERE WILL BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT LATER TODAY ON THE NEW HEAD
OF THE ARMS CONTROL AGENCY. THAT ANNOUNCEMENT QUITE
PROPERLY WILL COME FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

WITH RESPECT TO YOUR SECOND QUESTION, I DO NOT SEE
ANY INCONSISTENCY WITH RESPECT TO SUPPORT FOR THE TWO
TREATIES WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN NEGOTIATED AND WHICH
ARE BEFORE THE CONGRESS. THEY ARE STEPPING STONES ON THE
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ROAD TO THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE, WHICH IS A COMPLETE
CESSATION OF TESTING, AND I DO NOT THINK THAT THERE IS
ANY INCONSISTENCY.

15. Q JUST TO FOLLOW UP ON THAT, SIR.

DOES THE ADMINISTRATION THEN PLAN SIMULTANEOUSLY TO
BE SUPPORTING THESE TWO PARTIAL TREATIES AND AT THE
SAME TIME SEEKING THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN THAT
PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SPOKEN ABOUT?

16. SECRETARY VANCE: THE ANSWER IS YES.

17. Q DO YOU HAVE ANY PARTICULAR TIMETABLE FOR THE
MID EAST NEGOTIATIONS TO GET UNDERWAY, SUCH AS, FOR
EXAMPLE, SOME PEOPLE IN THE SENATE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT
DEMONSTRABLE PROGRESS SHOULD BE MADE BY JULY BEFORE THE
OPEC MEETING? IS THERE ANY DEADLINE THAT YOU CAN
MENTION?

18. SECRETARY VANCE: THERE IS NO DEADLINE EXCEPT THAT
I THINK IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT PROGRESS BE MADE
THIS YEAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND THAT IS ONE OF THE

REASONS THAT I AM GOING AT THIS EARLY DATE TO VISIT THE MIDDLE EAST. I THINK THE SOONER WE GET AT THE PROCESS, THE BETTER. AND THEREFORE I AM GOING AT THIS POINT TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF OUR EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION AS SEEN BY THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY VISITS TO THIS COUNTRY BY LEADERS FROM THOSE COUNTRIES. AND WE WILL THEN WORK WITH THEM TO DEVELOP

THE PROCEDURES AND THE ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL LEAD TO A MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

BUT I DO NOT WANT TO TRY AND SET ANY SPECIFIC DATE
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AT THIS POINT UNTIL I HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO MEET WITH THOSE LEADERS, UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO REVIEW THEIR VIEWS, AND, OF COURSE, THIS MUST BE TAKEN UP IN CONSULTATION WITH THE CO-CHAIRMAN, THE SOVIET UNION.

19. Q MR. SECRETARY, HENRY BRADSHER OF THE WASHINGTON STAR.

CAN YOU TELL US HOW YOU SEE THE PROSPECTS FOR A CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE FINALLY MANAGED TO TALK AGAIN, AND WHO ARE YOU GOING TO APPOINT TO HANDLE THOSE PROBLEMS FOR YOU?

20. SECRETARY VANCE: I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT THE ARCHBISHOP AND MR. DENKTASH HAD A MEETING, AND THAT THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING SEEMED TO BE GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE. THE WORKING OUT OF A SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS IS GOING TO BE IMMENSELY COMPLICATED AND VERY DIFFICULT, BUT AT LEAST, WE NOW HAVE THE FIRST STEP HAVING BEEN TAKEN. IT HAS BEEN MANY, MANY YEARS SINCE A MEETING AT THIS LEVEL WAS HELD BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS.

WE, THE UNITED STATES WILL DO EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN TO HELP FACILITATE SUCH A SETTLEMENT. WE WILL BE SENDING AN INDIVIDUAL TO THAT PART OF THE WORLD TO DISCUSS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND WITH TURKEY, AND ALSO TO EXAMINE THE CYPRIOT PROBLEM ITSELF. IN SO FAR AS THE NAMING OF THAT PERSON, I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD NAME THE PERSON LATER THIS WEEK.

21. Q I AM BERNARD GWERTZMAN, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

THE PRESIDENT, IN AN INTERVIEW LAST WEEK SAID HE WOULD NOT LET THE BACKFIRE OR THE CRUISE MISSILE ISSUE
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STAND IN THE WAY OF A SETTLEMENT ON SALT. DID HE MEAN BY THAT THAT HE WAS ADVOCATING, AGAIN PROPOSING THAT THOSE TWO ISSUES BE PUT ASIDE AND A SETTLEMENT BE SIGNED NOW, OR IS HE THINKING IN MORE CREATIVE TERMS?

22. SECRETARY VANCE: HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING THAT THEY BE PUT ASIDE, HE WAS SUGGESTING THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO SEE THE NEGOTIATIONS FALL APART IF RESOLUTION COULD NOT BE REACHED AT THIS TIME ON THOSE TWO ISSUES. HOWEVER, I

AM SURE THAT THERE WILL BE AN ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THOSE ISSUES, NAMELY, THE BACKFIRE AND THE CRUISE MISSILE WHEN WE RESUME THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

YES.

23. Q (QUESTIONER FROM GLOBO TELEVISION, BRAZIL).

MR. SECRETARY, THE UNITED STATES SEEMS TO BE THE ONLY GOVERNMENT AND THE ONLY VOICE PROTESTING THE NUCLEAR DEAL BETWEEN BRAZIL AND GERMANY--BRAZIL SEEMS TO BE HAPPY WITH IT--AND I WONDER HOW FAR IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, IS WILLING, HOW MUCH PRESSURE THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO PUT TO THOSE TWO COUNTRIES TO CHANGE THE DEAL.

24. SECRETARY VANCE: THE CONCERN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS EXPRESSED WITH RESPECT TO THAT TRANSACTION REFLECTS THE GENERAL CONCERN WHICH WE HAVE ON THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH THE GERMANS AND HAVE BEGUN TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH THE BRAZILIANS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THIS MATTER WITH BOTH OF THEM, AND SEE WHETHER OR NOT WE CANNOT FIND A WAY TO OBLIGE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THESE TWO PLANTS. WE WANT TO WORK HARMONIOUSLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THEM, AND WE

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HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST STEPS TO DO SO.

25. Q SIR.

26. SECRETARY VANCE: YES.

27. Q HAD YOU COME TO ANY CONCLUSION IN REGARD TO THE RELEASE OF NUCLEAR FUELS TO INDIA?

28. SECRETARY VANCE: NO. NO CONCLUSION HAS YET BEEN REACHED ON THAT. AS YOU KNOW, THAT HAS BEEN A MATTER THAT HAS BEEN UNDER STUDY FOR QUITE A LONG WHILE, AND AS YET, NO CONCLUSION HAS BEEN REACHED.

29. Q MARVIN KALB, CBS.

THE PRESIDENT SAID YESTERDAY THAT PERHAPS THE STATEMENT ABOUT SAKHAROV SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE BY HIM OR BY YOU. YET, THE DAY BEFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT MADE ITS STATEMENT ON SAKHAROV, IT DID COME OUT WITH A STATEMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHICH APPARENTLY HAD BEEN CLEARED. ARE YOU NOT RUNNING THE DANGER, SIR, OF SETTING UP WHAT AMOUNTS TO A DOUBLE STANDARD OF THE MANNER IN WHICH YOU

RESPOND TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN SMALLER COUNTRIES WHERE THERE IS NOT A DIRECT VITAL INTEREST CONFLICT?

30. SECRETARY VANCE: THIS IS A VERY COMPLEX AREA. AS I INDICATED, WE WILL NOT BE SPEAKING OUT IN EVERY CASE. WE WILL SPEAK OUT WHEN WE BELIEVE IT ADVISABLE TO DO SO, BUT THAT WILL NOT BE, AS I SAID, IN EACH AND EVERY CASE. IT IS AN AREA WHERE, AS I SAID, I THINK WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO MAKE OUR VIEWS FRANKLY KNOWN, BUT WE HOPE WE CAN DO IT WITHOUT BEING STRIDENT, AS I SAID, OR INTRUSIVE, IN AN IMPROPER WAY.

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31. Q ISN'T THAT REALLY SETTING UP A KIND OF DOUBLE STANDARD WHERE THE DEPARTMENT, OR THE ADMINISTRATION, MIGHT FEEL ITSELF MORE FREE IN CONDEMNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN SMALLER COUNTRIES WHERE THERE IS NOT A VITAL INTEREST AFFECTED?

32. SECRETARY VANCE: NO. I HOPE WE WILL NOT HAVE A DOUBLE STANDARD. I THINK WHAT WE HAVE DONE SO FAR WOULD INDICATE WE HAVE NOT.

YES, SIR.

33. Q ON THIS SAME SITUATION, THERE WERE REPORTS THAT YOU WERE UNHAPPY WITH THE STATEMENT MADE ON THE SAKHAROV SITUATION. I JUST WONDER IF YOU CAN TELL US WHO DID CLEAR THAT STATEMENT? I THINK THE PRESIDENT INDICATED YESTERDAY THAT HE DID NOT CLEAR IT. WHO DID CLEAR IT, AND WHETHER YOU FEEL THAT THIS IS AN INSTANCE IN WHICH YOU SHOULD NOT HAVE SPOKEN OUT?

34. SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME SAY, I DID NOT SEE IT; IT WAS CLEARED AT LOWER LEVELS. I AM NOT GOING TO GIVE THE

NAME OF THE INDIVIDUAL. I HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AND THEREFORE, I ACCEPT THAT RESPONSIBILITY FULLY. LET ME SAY THAT I RESPECT MR. SAKHAROV VERY DEEPLY; I RESPECT HIS, MR. SAKHAROV'S, PRINCIPLES AND HIS PURSUIT OF THOSE PRINCIPLES.

35. Q YOUR PREDECESSOR FREQUENTLY SAID IN SPEECHES THAT NOT ONLY IS IT INADVISABLE, BUT RATHER IT IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, TO SPEAK OUT, SPECIFICALLY IN THE CASE OF SOVIET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION BY MINORITIES, INCLUDING JEWS, WHICH DROPPED SHARPLY AFTER THE UNITED STATES TRIED TO EXERT PRESSURE.

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DO YOU SUBSCRIBE TO THAT THEORY PARTICULARLY, THAT SPEAKING OUT IS ACTUALLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE?

36. SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT SHARE THAT VIEW.

37. Q IF YOU DON'T SHARE THAT VIEW, COULD YOU SAY WHAT YOUR VIEW IS ON THAT SPECIFIC ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM?

38. SECRETARY VANCE: MY VIEW IS THAT AT TIMES WE WILL FEEL IT APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY TO SPEAK OUT AND THERE WILL BE OTHER TIMES WHEN WE WILL NOT.

39. Q MR. SECRETARY, GETTING BACK TO SALT, SOME DOZEN CONGRESSMEN, DEMOCRATS ALL, HAVE ASKED THE ADMINISTRATION TO SUSPEND DEVELOPMENT OF LONG-RANGE MISSILES, A DECISION TAKEN IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION, ON THE GROUNDS THAT NOTHING REALLY SERIOUSLY WOULD BE LOST BY A TWO- OR THREE-MONTH SUSPENSION WHILE YOU GO TO MOSCOW. CAN YOU TELL US, FIRST, WHAT YOUR VIEWS ARE, AND SECONDLY, IF THEY ARE TO CONTINUE DEVELOPMENT, WHAT IS THE RATIONALE FOR CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT OF ONE OF THE MAJOR HANG-UPS IN THE SALT TALKS JUST SIX TO EIGHT WEEKS BEFORE YOU GO TO MOSCOW TO SEE IF THEY CAN BE PUT UNDER A TREATY? IS IT THE PENTAGON AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT AGAIN OR IS THERE SOME OTHER REASON.

40. SECRETARY VANCE: NO. I THINK THE ACTIONS WHICH WILL BE TAKEN DURING THIS PERIOD IN WHICH OUR REVIEW IS TAKING PLACE WILL NOT BE ACTIONS WHICH WILL BE SUCH AS TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE CHANGES IN THE FUTURE. THEREFORE, I THINK IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT THEY SHOULD GO FORWARD DURING THIS PERIOD OF TIME IN WHICH WE ARE GOING TO PLEAD OUR VIEW.

41. Q MR. SECRETARY, MARY MCGRORY, FROM THE WASHINGTON STAR.

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YOUR PREDECESSOR USED TO COMPLAIN A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THE MEDDLING OF CONGRESS IN THE EXECUTION OF FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE PRESIDENT IN HIS FAREWELL SUGGESTED CONGRESS REALLY OUGHT TO LEAVE IT TO THE EXECUTIVE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO RUN FOREIGN POLICY. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT DEMOCRACY AT HOME?

42. SECRETARY VANCE: INSOFAR AS THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS IS CONCERNED, I FEEL VERY DEEPLY, AS I SAID DURING MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS, THAT YOU CANNOT HAVE AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY UNLESS IT IS DEVELOPED IN COORDINATION

WITH THE CONGRESS AND IMPLEMENTED IN COORDINATION WITH THE CONGRESS. I FEEL VERY DEEPLY ON THIS SUBJECT, AND WE ARE GOING TO DO EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN TO SEE THAT WE PROCEED IN THAT FASHION.

43. Q OBERDORFER, WASHINGTON POST.

DO YOU EXPECT TO REOPEN THE TALKS WITH THE VIETNAMESE WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH OR TWO OR THREE, AND COULD YOU TELL US YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE VIETNAMESE BEING SEATED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES?

44. SECRETARY VANCE: I STATED DURING MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS THAT I THOUGHT IT WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO PROCEED TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, AND I HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO START THAT PROCESS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF THE SEATING OF THE VIETNAMESE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, I WOULD HOPE THE ISSUE WOULD NOT BE RAISED UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO START OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH RESPECT TO NORMALIZATION.

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45. Q SUPPOSE IT IS RAISED. WHAT WOULD YOUR ATTITUDE BE?

46. SECRETARY VANCE: WE WILL DECIDE THAT QUESTION WHEN IT ARISES.

47. Q MR. SECRETARY, WHEN YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT NORMALIZATION, SIR, WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS IN PURSUING THE ENTIRE COMPLICATED PROBLEM OF NORMALIZING U.S. RELATIONS

WITH CHINA?

THAT HAS BEEN A POSTPONED QUESTION AND THE EXPECTATION HAD BEEN THAT WITH A NEW PRESIDENT, THE PROCESS WOULD GO FORTH SWIFTLY.

48. SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME POINT OUT WE ARE ONLY AT THE END OF OUR FIRST WEEK. I HAVE STATED THAT, INSO FAR AS OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE CONCERNED, WE WILL PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE PACE AND THE MODE OF REACHING NORMALIZATION, THAT THIS IS A MATTER WHICH WE HAVE UNDER INTENSIVE REVIEW. I WOULD HOPE THAT WE CAN COMPLETE THAT REVIEW IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE, AND I THINK THERE REALLY IS NOTHING MORE THAT I CAN SAY AT

THIS POINT. I DO SUPPORT VERY STRONGLY THE GOAL OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

49. Q WHAT I WANT TO ASK YOU, SIR, IS DO YOU HAVE SOME SORT OF A TIME-FRAME IN MIND WHEREBY THERE WOULD BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS?

50. SECRETARY VANCE: I DON'T HAVE ANY SPECIFIC DATE IN MIND. I THINK THIS IS OBVIOUSLY A SUBJECT WE WILL HAVE TO DISCUSS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND WHEN UNCLASSIFIED
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WE HAVE COMPLETED OUR INTERNAL THINKING WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, THEN I THINK WE SHOULD PROCEED TO BEGIN TO TALK TO THEM ABOUT THE QUESTION.

51. Q MR. SECRETARY, JEFF ANTEVIL OF THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS.

WOULD YOU EXPLAIN A LITTLE FURTHER WHY YOU THINK 1977 WILL BE SUCH A CRITICAL YEAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SPECIFICALLY DO YOU SHARE MR. WALDHEIM'S VIEW THAT THERE IS LIKELY TO BE A RESUMPTION OF WAR THERE IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO UNLESS A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED?

52. SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD BE HAPPY TO DISCUSS THAT.

I THINK 1977 IS A CRITICAL PERIOD BECAUSE I THINK AT THIS POINT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF FACTORS WHICH ARE MORE CONDUCIVE TO A SETTLEMENT THAN HAVE BEEN PRESENT IN THE PAST.

LET ME HASTEN TO SAY I DON'T WANT TO MINIMIZE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH LIE AHEAD. BUT AT THIS POINT, WE NO LONGER ARE FACED WITH THE WAR IN LEBANON. THERE SEEMS

TO BE A GREATER COHESION AMONG THE FORCES FOR MODERATION IN THE AREA. ALL OF THE PARTIES HAVE INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED TO GENEVA AND TO PROCEED PROMPTLY. THEREFORE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE FACTORS ARE RIGHT TO PROCEED DURING THIS YEAR. I THINK IF THIS IS ALLOWED TO DRAG OUT AND WE DO NOT PROCEED TO A CONFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE, THAT ALL KINDS OF DISRUPTIVE FACTORS MAY OCCUR AND, THEREFORE, I THINK IT'S INCUMBENT THAT WE PROCEED AS FAST AS WE PROPERLY CAN TO TRY AND MOVE TO THAT POINT.

IT WOULD BE FOOLHARDY IN MY JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, TO DO THIS UNTIL THE GROUND WORK HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY
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EXPLORED AND PLANS HAVE BEEN ARRIVED AT, SO THAT THERE IS A REALISTIC CHANCE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION COMING OUT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

THEREFORE I THINK ONE CANNOT AT THIS POINT TALK ABOUT ANY SPECIFIC DATE, BUT I DO THINK IT IS PROPER AND REASONABLE TO SAY THAT THERE SHOULD BE SUCH A CONFERENCE IN THE YEAR 1977, AND INDEED I WOULD SAY THAT I THINK IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT THERE BE SUCH A CONFERENCE DURING THAT PERIOD.

53. Q BERNIE GWERTZMAN FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES.

DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR MIND ANY IDEA OF HOW TO GET OVER THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WHICH HAS OBVIOUSLY HELD UP THE GENEVA CONFERENCE NOW FOR MORE THAN A YEAR OR TWO?

54. SECRETARY VANCE: I DO HAVE SOME THOUGHTS ON THIS. I PREFER NOT TO TALK ABOUT THEM AT THIS TIME, BUT LET ME COMMENT ON THAT ISSUE.

THE PLO UP TO THIS POINT HAS REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST, OR TO ACCEPT THE FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS UNDER UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW PROGRESS CAN BE MADE.

IN SAYING THIS, HOWEVER, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WILL BE CRITICAL TO ANY PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF VIEWS HELD BY THE PARTIES AS TO HOW ONE MIGHT ADDRESS THIS ISSUE. THIS IS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS THAT I WOULD HOPE TO DISCUSS AND EXPECT TO
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DISCUSS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES WHEN I GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST. AND I HOPE THAT WHEN I COME BACK FROM THAT TRIP I WILL HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE COURSE IS TO FOLLOW IN THIS AREA.

55. Q IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY THAT YOU YOURSELF OR SOME DESIGNATED OFFICIAL MIGHT HAVE SOME DISCUSSIONS WITH PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES?

56. SECRETARY VANCE: NOT AT THIS TIME, AS LONG AS THE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE AS I INDICATED.

57. Q MR. SECRETARY, BARRIE DUNSMORE FROM ABC NEWS.

ON THE SUBJECT OF NORMALIZATION ANOTHER COUNTRY COMES TO MIND, AND THAT IS CUBA. RECENTLY AMBASSADOR YOUNG INDICATED THAT THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA MIGHT BE CONSIDERED A STABILIZING FACTOR. I AM

WONDERING IF YOU SHARE THAT VIEW TO BEGIN WITH, AND IF BY ANY CHANCE SAYING THINGS LIKE THAT IS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW TREND TOWARDS NORMALIZATION WITH CUBA?

58. SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK THERE ARE TWO POINTS WHICH YOU HAVE RAISED. FIRST, THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA.

I HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED THAT I THINK THAT IT IS APPROPRIATE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO SEEK NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES. I SAID, INSOFAR AS CUBA WAS CONCERNED, THAT I HOPED THAT THERE WOULD BE INDICATIONS THAT THEY WOULD BE ANXIOUS AND WILLING TO LIVE WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF NATIONS AND, IF THAT WERE THE CASE, THEN I HOPE WE COULD BEGIN THE PROCESS OF MOVING TOWARDS NORMALIZATION.

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WITH RESPECT TO THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA, I THINK THE PRESENCE OF ANY OUTSIDE FORCES IS NOT HELPFUL TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. I THINK THAT THIS IS A MATTER THAT SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES.

59. Q IT IS NOT THEREFORE A PREREQUISITE TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA?

60. SECRETARY VANCE: I DON'T WANT TO SET ANY PRE-CONDI-

THIS AT THIS POINT ABOUT WHATEVER DISCUSSIONS MIGHT
TAKE PLACE.

61. Q MORT KONDACKE, NEW REPUBLIC.

THERE IS A REPORT IN THE NEW YORK POST THAT YOU
WERE A MEMBER OF AN ORGANIZATION OF BUSINESSMEN AND
LAWYERS SET UP TO OPPOSE LEGISLATION ON THE ARAB OIL
BOYCOTT--ON THE ARAB OIL BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL.

IS THAT CORRECT, AND TO GO ON WITH IT, WHAT ARE
YOUR FEELINGS --

62. SECRETARY VANCE: BEFORE YOU GO ON TO YOUR SECOND
QUESTION, THE ANSWER IS NO. I WAS ASKED TO SERVE ON A
COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF NEW YORK
CITY. I WAS ASKED TO SERVE BY THE MAYOR, BY THE GOVERNOR,
AND BY THE TWO SENATORS. WE WERE TO TAKE A LOOK AT A
WHOLE RANGE OF PROBLEMS THAT Affected THE FLIGHT OF
BUSINESS FROM NEW YORK CITY.

THE PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITIES THAT I HAD WHEN I
WAS WORKING WITH THE COMMITTEE WERE TO TAKE A LOOK AT
THE PROFESSIONS AND TO SEE WHAT THINGS COULD BE DONE TO
TRY AND MAKE SURE THAT THE PROFESSIONS DID NOT FLEE FROM
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NEW YORK CITY--AND BY THE PROFESSIONS I AM TALKING ABOUT
LAWYERS, ACCOUNTANTS AND THE LIKE.

THE GROUP ALSO HAD A NUMBER OF OTHER SUB-COMMITTEES.
ABOUT HALFWAY THROUGH THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE, OR MAYBE
TWO-THIRDS OF THE WAY THROUGH, I WAS NOMINATED TO THE
POST WHICH I NOW HOLD. I WAS UNABLE TO COMPLETE MY
WORK ON THE COMMITTEE'S ACTIVITIES. I DID NOT HAVE ANY-
THING TO DO WITH ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH RESPECT TO ANY
BOYCOTT PROBLEMS.

63. Q MR. SECRETARY, WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON THE
BOYCOTT?

64. SECRETARY VANCE: WELL, I HAVE SAID BEFORE ON THE
BOYCOTT PROBLEM THAT I FULLY SUPPORT THE LEGISLATION
WHICH IS CURRENTLY ON THE BOOKS, AND THAT WE ARE COMMIT-
TED TO SUPPORT THAT LEGISLATION AND THAT WE WILL DO DO.

WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTIONS OF NEW LEGISLATION,
I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A LOOK AT THAT IN THE CONNECTION
OF THE OVERALL SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THERE WILL BE HEARINGS WITH RESPECT TO NEW LEGISLA-

TION. THOSE HEARINGS ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE PLACE UNTIL
MY RETURN FROM THE MIDDLE EAST.

I HAVE AGREED TO TESTIFY ON THE 28TH OF FEBRUARY
BEFORE SENATOR PROXMIRE'S COMMITTEE ON THIS ISSUE, AND
BY THAT TIME I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD HAVE A
GOVERNMENT-WIDE POSITION WHICH I WILL BE PREPARED TO
ENUNCIATE AT THAT TIME.

65. Q KEN FREED, ASSOCIATED PRESS.

THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF TALK ABOUT REDUCING ARMS
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SALES BY THE UNITED STATES.

COULD YOU OUTLINE THE PROGRAM AS YOU SEE IT NOW AND
DOES IT MEAN FEWER ARMS FOR ISRAEL, IRAN AND SAUDI
ARABIA?

66. SECRETARY VANCE: WE HAVEN'T GOTTEN TO THE POINT
YET OF WHAT THE EFFECT WOULD BE ON INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO A BASIC PRINCIPLE AND THAT IS TO FIND
A WAY TO REDUCE THE SALE OF ARMS, NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED
STATES BUT BY OTHER NATIONS AROUND THE WORLD.

THIS IS A TERRIBLY IMPORTANT ISSUE AND ONE WHERE I
THINK IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE PROGRESS. IT IS NOT GOING
TO BE EASY. INDEED, I THINK IT IS GOING TO BE VERY,
VERY DIFFICULT. BUT I THINK THAT WE, AS THE LARGEST
SELLER OF ARMS, HAVE A PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY TO
FIRST PUT OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER, TO DETERMINE WHAT OUR
POLICY WILL BE, AND HAVING DONE THAT, THEN TO BEGIN TO
WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS TO SEE WHETHER WE CAN FIND
COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY THEY WILL PARTICIPATE
WITH US IN DEVELOPING PROGRAMS AND POLICIES FOR CARRYING
OUT THIS KIND OF A PROGRAM.

LET ME SAY THAT SOME OF THE THINGS THAT WE ARE LOOK-
ING AT, IN ADDITION TO WHAT OUR OWN U.S. POLICY SHOULD
BE, IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT IT WOULD BE CON-
STRUCTIVE TO ISSUE REGULATIONS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THAT
ANY ARMS MANUFACTURER IN THE UNITED STATES COME AND
RECEIVE PERMISSION FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT BEFORE THEY
EVEN APPROACH ANY COUNTRIES OVERSEAS WITH RESPECT TO
THE POSSIBILITY OF BUYING NEW ARMS.

MY OWN INCLINATION IS THAT THIS IS A VERY SENSIBLE
THING TO DO. IT IS SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE UNDER CONSID-
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ERATION AND HAVE AS YET, HOWEVER, REACHED NO CONCLUSION
ON.

WE WILL BE TAKING A LOOK, AND A CAREFUL LOOK, AT
THE VARIOUS NEW PROPOSALS AS THEY COME IN AND THEN
HOPEFULLY APPLY THE STANDARDS WHICH WE HAVE REACHED TO
THOSE.

LET ME SAY A BIT ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST, THOUGH,
AND WHAT THE STANDARDS ARE WHICH WE HAVE BEEN APPLYING
TO THE QUESTION OF SALES OF ARMS IN THAT AREA.

WE HAVE SAID, FIRST, THAT THE ARMS MUST SATISFY OR
MUST BE FITTED TO THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS OF THE
COUNTRY CONCERNED.

SECONDLY, THAT THEY MUST BE LOOKED AT IN RESPECT
TO THEIR EFFECT ON THE OVERALL SITUATION WITH RESPECT
TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT
THESE ARE TWO VERY FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES THAT ARE
PROPER AND SHOULD BE APPLIED.

I THINK OVER HERE WE HAD A QUESTION.

67. Q WOULD YOU SUPPORT A MUTUAL ARMS BAN WITH THE
RUSSIANS WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST? THAT'S BEEN
PROPOSED A NUMBER OF TIMES TO THE SOVIETS. I THINK THEY
HAVE REJECTED IT. WOULD YOU BE IN FAVOR OF RENEWING
SUCH A PROPOSAL?

68. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. I THINK IT'S A VERY CON-
STRUCTIVE PROPOSAL. I THINK, QUITE FRANKLY, IT'S
UNREALISTIC, UNTIL YOU GET A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

69. Q SIR, YOU SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN
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STUDYING FOR SOME TIME NOW WHAT TO DO ABOUT SUPPLIES OF
NUCLEAR FUEL TO OTHER COUNTRIES. BRAZIL HAS BEEN WAITING
FOR ABOUT THREE YEARS NOW TO HAVE CONFIRMATION FOR SOME
FUEL FOR ITS REACTORS, AND IT'S GIVEN AS ONE OF THE
REASONS THAT THE COUNTRY DECIDED TO GO--TO HAVE ITS OWN
FACILITIES TO ENRICH URANIUM. SHOULD BRAZIL WAIT UNTIL
THE UNITED STATES FINISHED ITS STUDY--WHICH IT CANNOT
SAY WHEN IT WILL HAPPEN? AND DO YOU THINK IN THE SAME
AREA, SIR, BRAZIL IS UNDER A GREAT CURIOSITY ABOUT WHAT
THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO DO WITH REGIMES IN LATIN

AMERICA THAT ARE NOT DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED? WHAT CAN YOU SAY ABOUT THIS?

70. SECRETARY VANCE: WELL, LET ME TAKE YOUR FIRST QUESTION.

I WOULD HOPE VERY MUCH THAT BRAZIL AND GERMANY WOULD WAIT UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO FURTHER DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF WHAT ALTERNATIVES ARE THERE TO PROCEEDING WITH THE REPROCESSING PLANT OR WITH ENRICHED URANIUM FACILITIES. THIS SUBJECT HAS BEEN UNDER STUDY FOR A WHILE WITH THE PRIOR GOVERNMENT. WE ARE VERY FRESHLY IN OFFICE AND HAVE BEEN STUDYING IT VERY INTENSIVELY. IT WILL TAKE US A LITTLE WHILE TO COMPLETE OUR STUDIES, AND I THINK IT WOULD BE NOT ONLY HELPFUL BUT IMPORTANT THAT NOTHING BE DONE UNTIL WE'VE HAD A CHANCE THOROUGHLY TO EXPLORE THIS WITH BOTH COUNTRIES.

71. Q MR. SECRETARY -- TO FOLLOW UP MR. WALLACH'S QUESTION OF A MOMENT AGO. WOULD THE UNITED STATES CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY UNILATERALLY OF REDUCING ARMS SALES TO COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITHOUT AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A COMMON APPROACH TO REDUCING ARMS SALES?

72. SECRETARY VANCE: THIS WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT WE UNCLASSIFIED
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WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS WITH THE CONSUMER, AS WELL AS AMONG OURSELVES, BEFORE WE COULD ARRIVE AT ANY CONCLUSION ON THAT, MR. KALB.

73. Q MR. SECRETARY, SCOTT SULLIVAN OF NEWSWEEK.

YOU ARE GOING TO MEET WITH MR. BOYD THIS MORNING. COULD YOU GIVE US SOME OF YOUR THINKING ON HOW IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO BREAK THE LOGJAM IN THE PANAMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS, GIVEN THAT THE PANAMANIANS REQUIRE THAT SOVEREIGNTY REVERT TO THEM IN THE YEAR 2000 AND THAT THE AMERICAN CONCERN IS TO KEEP THE CANAL OPEN AND NEUTRAL INDEFINITELY?

74. SECRETARY VANCE: YES, I DO HAVE SOME IDEAS ON THIS. WE WILL BE DISCUSSING SOME OF THESE IDEAS TODAY WITH MR. BOYD. I HOPE THAT HE WILL HAVE SOME IDEAS ON HIS SIDE. I THINK IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO COMMENT AT THIS PRESS CONFERENCE ON IT, BUT IT WILL BE A SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION TODAY AT OUR MEETING.

75. Q WHEN YOU GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST, WILL YOU EXTEND INVITATIONS TO ALL THE LEADERS TO COME TO THIS COUNTRY,

AND HOW WILL YOU ISSUE THE PROBLEM (SIC) OF PRIME
MINISTER RABIN?

76. SECRETARY VANCE: I'M SORRY. I COULDN'T HEAR YOU.

77. Q WILL YOU ISSUE INVITATIONS TO ALL OF THE ARAB
LEADERS AND TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO COME TO THIS
COUNTRY? AND, AGAIN, WHAT WILL YOU DO ABOUT THE PROBLEM
OF PRIME MINISTER RABIN WITH THE ELECTION COMING UP?

78. SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD
EXTEND INVITATIONS TO ALL OF THE LEADERS TO MEET WITH
THE PRESIDENT, INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER RABIN.

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79. Q MR. SECRETARY, IS IT YOUR VIEW THAT PUTTING
PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA IS PROBABLY THE MOST EFFECTIVE
AD QUICKEST MEANS OF BRINGING ABOUT SOME MOVEMENT IN
THE RHODESIAN SITUATION?

80. SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK THAT SOUTH AFRICA CAN
PLAY A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS AREA. WE HAVE BEEN
IN CONSTANT COMMUNICATION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND
WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

81. Q DO YOU SHARE AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VIEW THAT, WHEN
SOUTH AFRICA SAYS TO RHODESIA "NEGOTIATE," THEY HAVE TO
NEGOTIATE?

82. SECRETARY VANCE: I DON'T THINK IT'S REALLY QUITE
THAT SIMPLE.

83. Q MR. SECRETARY, SOME PAPERS AWHILE AGO REPORTED
THAT SOME OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY STAFF
SUGGESTED THE U.S. OPEN ITS DOOR TO NORTH KOREA TO ACHIEVE
A SORT OF DETENTE IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA. DO YOU TAKE
SUCH CONSIDERATION INTO YOUR ACCOUNT IN DEALING WITH
THE KOREAN QUESTION?

84. SECRETARY VANCE: ON THE KOREAN QUESTION, WE WILL
DO NOTHING WITHOUT FULL AND COMPLETE CONSULTATION WITH
THE SOUTH KOREANS.

85. Q -- FRANCOIS CHATEL, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE DEAL--NUCLEAR DEAL--
BETWEEN BRAZIL AND GERMANY--THAT IS, APPLIED TO THE DEAL
BETWEEN FRANCE AND PAKISTAN? IN OTHER WORDS, WOULD YOU
LIKE TO SPECIFICALLY CONSULT PROPOSALS MADE BEFORE THE
TWO COUNTRIES GO THROUGH WITH THE DEAL?

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86. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. AS I SAID, OUR CONCERNS ABOUT PROLIFERATION APPLY ACROSS THE BOARD AND NOT JUST TO ONE OR TWO COUNTRIES AND, THEREFORE, WE WOULD HOPE THAT IN EACH OF THESE CASES WAYS COULD BE FOUND TO NOT PROCEED WITH REPROCESSING PLANTS.

87. Q AND ARE YOU--IN THE CASE OF PAKISTAN--ARE YOU HOPEFUL THAT THE DEAL WILL GO THROUGH?

88. SECRETARY VANCE: I REALLY HAVEN'T GOTTEN DEEPLY ENOUGH INTO THAT TO EXPRESS EITHER HOPE OR LACK OF HOPE AT THIS POINT.

89. Q MR. SECRETARY --

90. SECRETARY VANCE: YES.

91. Q -- THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE A MAJOR COMMITMENT TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS IN FOREIGN POLICY. ON THE KOREAN QUESTION, ARE YOU PLANNING SPECIFIC PRESSURE TO MOVE TOWARD THAT GOAL IN SOUTH KOREA?

92. SECRETARY VANCE: THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS OBVIOUSLY ONE WHICH WE WILL BE DISCUSSING WITH THE KOREANS. I THINK THAT I SHOULD SAY NOTHING MORE THAN THAT AT THIS POINT.

93. Q AS THIS IS YOUR FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE, SIR, PERHAPS IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WE COULD HAVE ON THE RECORD YOUR GENERAL VIEWS OF YOUR ATTITUDE ON PRESS POLICY.

94. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. I'D BE VERY HAPPY TO TALK ABOUT THAT.

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AS I PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, I HAVE RATHER DEEP CONVICTIONS ABOUT THE NECESSITY TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS IN DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING FOREIGN POLICY. I ALSO BELIEVE VERY STRONGLY THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO INFORM THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AS TO WHAT OUR OBJECTIVES ARE, TO EXPLAIN WHY WE HOLD THESE OBJECTIVES, AND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN HOW WE INTEND TO PROCEED IN ACHIEVING THESE OBJECTIVES. AND TO THAT END I WANT TO GIVE AS MUCH TIME AS I POSSIBLY CAN TO WORKING WITH THE PRESS IN OPEN SESSIONS TO EXPLAIN WHAT OUR OBJECTIVES ARE AND HOW WE INTEND TO ACHIEVE THEM. AND TO THAT END, AS I HAVE

INDICATED, I WILL HOLD AN OPEN PRESS CONFERENCE WITH YOU AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.

WHEN I GO ON A TRIP, I WOULD INTEND TO SPEAK WITH THE PRESS IN AN OPEN FASHION, ON-THE-RECORD IN ALMOST ALL CASES. AND I AM GOING TO TRY AND MAKE PEOPLE IN OUR DEPARTMENT MORE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS SO THAT THEY CAN SPEAK WITH YOU AND KEEP YOU UP TO DATE WITH WHAT IS GOING ON IN OUR OPERATIONS HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT.

95. Q I WONDERED IF YOU WOULD MAKE KNOWN TO CHILE THE NEW ATTITUDE OF THIS GOVERNMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SPECIFICALLY, I'D LIKE TO KNOW WHAT REPRESENTATIONS YOU AND THE DEPARTMENT MADE TO THEM ABOUT SENDING A PERSON ALLEGED TO BE A TORTURER TO THIS COUNTRY ON A GOODWILL TOUR.

96. SECRETARY VANCE: MR. LAVIN IS NO LONGER IN THIS COUNTRY. I THINK IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO TALK ABOUT WHAT INDIVIDUALLY HAS PASSED BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE CHILEANS ON THIS. WE WILL CONVEY OUR VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES, AS I SAID, BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY.

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97. Q THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY.

98. SECRETARY VANCE: THANK YOU.
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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (MONDALE)

SUBJECT: PRESS BRIEFING

1. FOLLOWING IS UNCORRECTED REPEAT UNCORRECTED TEXT OF
SECRETARY VANCE'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF JANUARY 31, 1977,
FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY TO VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTY.

2. SECRETARY VANCE: GOOD MORNING.

I HAVE THREE MATTERS THAT I WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON
BRIEFLY BEFORE I TAKE QUESTIONS.

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THE FIRST RELATES TO A MEETING WHICH I WILL BE HAVING
STARTING THIS MORNING AND CONTINUING THROUGH LUNCH WITH
THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF PANAMA. HE IS COMING TODAY TO
DISCUSS THE RESUMPTION OF THE CANAL NEGOTIATIONS.

AFTER LUNCH, WHEN WE HAVE COMPLETED OUR DISCUSSIONS,
WE WILL MEET WITH THE PRESS BRIEFLY. WE WILL HAVE A
STATEMENT TO ISSUE AND WE WILL TAKE A FEW QUESTIONS.

SECONDLY, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A BRIEF STATEMENT
WITH RESPECT TO THE RHODESIAN ISSUE.

WE VERY MUCH REGRET THAT EFFORTS TO REACH A SATIS-
FACTORY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM
HAVE FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST BEEN DEALT A SERIOUS BLOW.

THE POSITION ANNOUNCED BY MR. IAN SMITH HAS RESULTED
IN A NEW AND MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION REGARDING THE
PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA. WE REMAIN
DEDICATED TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN
ISSUE LEADING TO MAJORITY RULE. WE ARE CONFERRING WITH
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND ARE CONTINUING TO CONSULT
WITH THE AFRICAN LEADERS MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH
THIS PROBLEM, AS WELL AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

THE BRITISH PROPOSAL REMAINS IN OUR VIEW A VALID
BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES SHOULD

UNDERSTAND CLEARLY THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES CAN THEY COUNT ON ANY FORM OF AMERICAN ASSISTANCE IN THEIR EFFORT TO PREVENT MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, OR TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WHICH EXCLUDE LEADERS OF NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS.

THE SO-CALLED INTERNAL SOLUTION WILL NOT PRODUCE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND THEREFORE WILL NOT HAVE THE
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SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES.

TO RE-EMPHASIZE OUR OPPOSITION TO THE MAINTENANCE OF MINORITY IMPOSED CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA, THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL STRONGLY SUPPORT THE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT. WE DO THIS IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, AND ALSO BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IT REPRESENTS A STEP TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA.

WE CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO ACT WITH FLEXIBILITY AND RESTRAINT, AND TO GIVE THEIR SUPPORT TO A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION THAT CAN BRING BOTH PEACE AND MAJORITY RULE TO RHODESIA.

AND NOW A BRIEF WORD ABOUT MY TRAVEL PLANS.

AS YOU KNOW, I AM GOING TO THE MIDDLE EAST ON THE 14TH OF FEBRUARY. IN ADDITION TO THAT, I HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING WITH THE SOVIET UNION A TRIP TO MOSCOW. I WILL BE GOING TO MOSCOW IN MARCH AND I WILL HAVE AN ANNOUNCEMENT AS TO THE TIMING OF THAT TRIP LATER THIS WEEK.

AND NOW QUESTIONS.

3. Q JIM ANDERSON, UPI.
MR. SECRETARY, ON THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS, IS THIS ADMINISTRATION GOING TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE OF SPEAKING OUT ON CASES SUCH AS THE SAKHAROV EPISODE? OR ARE YOU GOING TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE OF YOUR PREDECESSOR EXERTING QUIET DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE, AND USING HIS CONCEPT OF LINKAGE?

4. SECRETARY VANCE: ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE PRESIDENT HAS OFTEN EXPRESSED HIS DEEP CONCERN IN THIS AREA, AND HAS REAFFIRMED THAT DEEP CONCERN IN THE
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INAUGURATION ADDRESS.

WE WILL SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT INJUSTICE, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. WE DO NOT INTEND, HOWEVER, TO BE STRIDENT OR POLEMICAL, BUT WE DO BELIEVE THAT AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS A HUMAN VALUE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE, AND THAT IT MUST BE NOURISHED. WE WILL NOT COMMENT ON EACH AND EVERY ISSUE, BUT WE WILL FROM TIME TO TIME COMMENT WHEN WE SEE A THREAT TO HUMAN RIGHTS WHEN WE BELIEVE IT CONSTRUCTIVE TO DO SO.

5. Q MR. SECRETARY, BARRY SWEID OF AP.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT, ONE OF THE LOCAL PUNDITS YES-TERDAY CALLED IT SUDDEN DIPLOMACY, SUGGESTING THAT THIS SPEAKING OUT HASN'T BEEN VERY WELL THOUGHT OUT, PARTICULARLY ITS IMPACT ON DIPLOMACY.

YOU REFER TO YOUR TRIP TO MOSCOW. DO YOU THINK THE STATEMENT YOU HAVE MADE ON SAKHAROV AND YOUR GENERAL VIEW ON HUMAN RIGHTS WILL HAVE AN IMPACT, A NEGATIVE IMPACT, ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION? INDEED, ISN'T THAT WHAT MR. DOBRYNIN CALLED TO TELL YOU THE OTHER DAY?

6. SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT BELIEVE IT WILL HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT. AS I INDICATED, WE WILL, FROM TIME TO TIME, SPEAK OUT. I HAVE DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH MR. DOBRYNIN, BUT I AM SURE THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A WHOLE RANGE OF MATTERS WILL NOT BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY WHAT WE HAVE SAID.

7. Q MR. SECRETARY, JOHN WALLACH OF HEARST.

ON THE SOUTHERN AFRICA SITUATION, THERE IS A DEAD-LINE OF SORTS COMING UP IN MARCH WHEN THE AFRICANS HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL BRING THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS TO UNCLASSIFIED
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THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE SAME MONTH THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL. DO YOU FEEL THAT IN THE INTERVENING PERIOD, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE ANY INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, YOUR OWN APPOINTING OF A NEGOTIATOR TO VISIT THE WHITE AREAS AS WELL AS THE WHITE NATIONS AS WELL AS THE BLACK NATIONS? OR SHOULD THE UNITED STATES STAY BACK AND LET THE BRITISH HANDLE THE SITUATION? IN OTHER WORDS, WHERE DO YOU FEEL WE SHOULD GO FROM HERE?

8. SECRETARY VANCE: INSOFAR AS THE SOUTHERN RHODESIA PROBLEM IS CONCERNED, THE BRITISH QUITE PROPERLY ARE

TAKING THE LEADING ROLE. WE WILL SUPPORT THE BRITISH IN THIS EFFORT AND WORK CLOSELY AND CAREFULLY WITH THEM. WE ARE IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH THE BRITISH, AND EXPECT TO MEET WITH IVOR RICHARD AS SOON AS HE COMPLETES HIS MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND WE WILL WORK OUT OUR PLANS IN CONCERT WITH THEM.

WITH RESPECT TO THE SECOND HALF OF YOUR QUESTION, WILL WE BE SENDING A SPECIAL EMISSARY TO THAT PART OF THE WORLD, I DO NOT HAVE ANY FINAL CONCLUSION IN MY OWN MIND ON THAT. I WANT TO THINK ABOUT THE PROBLEM MORE AND STUDY IT.

AS YOU KNOW, ANDREW YOUNG IS GOING TO DAR ES SALAAM, AND I WANT TO TALK TO HIM WHEN HE COMES BACK AND GET THE BENEFIT OF HIS VIEWS.

9. Q IS GENEVA STILL THE PROPER FORUM AS FAR AS YOU ARE CONCERNED FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS?

10. SECRETARY VANCE: YES, IT IS.

11. Q MR. SECRETARY, DICK VALERIANI OF NBC.
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ON THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, DO YOU PLAN TO GO--DOES THE ADMINISTRATION PLAN TO GO BEYOND SPEAKING OUT AND MAKING SOME OTHER KIND OF EFFORT TO GET VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO CHANGE CONDITIONS INTERNALLY, PERHAPS BY OFFERING CERTAIN BENEFITS IN TERMS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS YOU ARE CARRYING OUT WITH THEM?

12. SECRETARY VANCE: WE WILL COUPLE WHAT WE SAY PUBLICLY WITH PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH VARIOUS COUNTRIES. AND WE HOPE THAT WILL STRENGTHEN THE PROCESS OF PROGRESS IN THIS AREA.

13. Q MR. SECRETARY, MURREY MARDER OF THE WASHINGTON POST.

CAN YOU ANNOUNCE, SIR, NOW, THE HEAD OF THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY? AND, SECONDLY, PRESIDENT CARTER, DURING THE CAMPAIGN, WAS QUITE CRITICAL OF TWO TREATIES WHICH ARE NOW PENDING IN CONGRESS ON THE THRESHOLD NUCLEAR TEST BAN AND ON THE PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSION BAN. NEVERTHELESS, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DECLARED ITS SUPPORT FOR THOSE TWO PENDING TREATIES.

COULD YOU RECONCILE THAT POSITION, SIR?

14. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. ON YOUR FIRST QUESTION,

THERE WILL BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT LATER TODAY ON THE NEW HEAD OF THE ARMS CONTROL AGENCY. THAT ANNOUNCEMENT QUITE PROPERLY WILL COME FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

WITH RESPECT TO YOUR SECOND QUESTION, I DO NOT SEE ANY INCONSISTENCY WITH RESPECT TO SUPPORT FOR THE TWO TREATIES WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN NEGOTIATED AND WHICH ARE BEFORE THE CONGRESS. THEY ARE STEPPING STONES ON THE ROAD TO THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE, WHICH IS A COMPLETE

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CESSATION OF TESTING, AND I DO NOT THINK THAT THERE IS ANY INCONSISTENCY.

15. Q JUST TO FOLLOW UP ON THAT, SIR.

DOES THE ADMINISTRATION THEN PLAN SIMULTANEOUSLY TO BE SUPPORTING THESE TWO PARTIAL TREATIES AND AT THE SAME TIME SEEKING THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SPOKEN ABOUT?

16. SECRETARY VANCE: THE ANSWER IS YES.

17. Q DO YOU HAVE ANY PARTICULAR TIMETABLE FOR THE MID EAST NEGOTIATIONS TO GET UNDERWAY, SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, SOME PEOPLE IN THE SENATE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT DEMONSTRABLE PROGRESS SHOULD BE MADE BY JULY BEFORE THE OPEC MEETING? IS THERE ANY DEADLINE THAT YOU CAN MENTION?

18. SECRETARY VANCE: THERE IS NO DEADLINE EXCEPT THAT I THINK IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT PROGRESS BE MADE THIS YEAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND THAT IS ONE OF THE REASONS THAT I AM GOING AT THIS EARLY DATE TO VISIT THE MIDDLE EAST. I THINK THE SOONER WE GET AT THE PROCESS, THE BETTER. AND THEREFORE I AM GOING AT THIS POINT TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF OUR EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION AS SEEN BY THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY VISITS TO THIS COUNTRY BY LEADERS FROM THOSE COUNTRIES. AND WE WILL THEN WORK WITH THEM TO DEVELOP THE PROCEDURES AND THE ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL LEAD TO A MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

BUT I DO NOT WANT TO TRY AND SET ANY SPECIFIC DATE AT THIS POINT UNTIL I HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO MEET WITH THOSE LEADERS, UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO REVIEW THEIR VIEWS, AND, OF COURSE, THIS MUST BE TAKEN UP IN CONSULTA-

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TION WITH THE CO-CHAIRMAN, THE SOVIET UNION.

19. Q MR. SECRETARY, HENRY BRADSHER OF THE WASHINGTON STAR.

CAN YOU TELL US HOW YOU SEE THE PROSPECTS FOR A CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE FINALLY MANAGED TO TALK AGAIN, AND WHO ARE YOU GOING TO APPOINT TO HANDLE THOSE PROBLEMS FOR YOU?

20. SECRETARY VANCE: I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT THE ARCHBISHOP AND MR. DENKTASH HAD A MEETING, AND THAT THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING SEEMED TO BE GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE. THE WORKING OUT OF A SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS IS GOING TO BE IMMENSELY COMPLICATED AND VERY DIFFICULT, BUT AT LEAST, WE NOW HAVE THE FIRST STEP HAVING BEEN TAKEN. IT HAS BEEN MANY, MANY YEARS SINCE A MEETING AT THIS LEVEL WAS HELD BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS.

WE, THE UNITED STATES WILL DO EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN TO HELP FACILITATE SUCH A SETTLEMENT. WE WILL BE SENDING AN INDIVIDUAL TO THAT PART OF THE WORLD TO DISCUSS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND WITH TURKEY, AND ALSO TO EXAMINE THE CYPRIOT PROBLEM ITSELF. IN SO FAR AS THE NAMING OF THAT PERSON, I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD NAME THE PERSON LATER THIS WEEK.

21. Q I AM BERNARD GWERTZMAN, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

THE PRESIDENT, IN AN INTERVIEW LAST WEEK SAID HE WOULD NOT LET THE BACKFIRE OR THE CRUISE MISSILE ISSUE STAND IN THE WAY OF A SETTLEMENT ON SALT. DID HE MEAN BY THAT THAT HE WAS ADVOCATING, AGAIN PROPOSING THAT THOSE TWO ISSUES BE PUT ASIDE AND A SETTLEMENT BE SIGNED
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NOW, OR IS HE THINKING IN MORE CREATIVE TERMS?

22. SECRETARY VANCE: HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING THAT THEY BE PUT ASIDE, HE WAS SUGGESTING THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO SEE THE NEGOTIATIONS FALL APART IF RESOLUTION COULD NOT BE REACHED AT THIS TIME ON THOSE TWO ISSUES. HOWEVER, I

AM SURE THAT THERE WILL BE AN ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THOSE ISSUES, NAMELY, THE BACKFIRE AND THE CRUISE MISSILE WHEN WE RESUME THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

YES.

23. Q (QUESTIONER FROM GLOBO TELEVISION, BRAZIL).

MR. SECRETARY, THE UNITED STATES SEEMS TO BE THE ONLY GOVERNMENT AND THE ONLY VOICE PROTESTING THE NUCLEAR DEAL BETWEEN BRAZIL AND GERMANY--BRAZIL SEEMS TO BE HAPPY WITH IT--AND I WONDER HOW FAR IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, IS WILLING, HOW MUCH PRESSURE THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO PUT TO THOSE TWO COUNTRIES TO CHANGE THE DEAL.

24. SECRETARY VANCE: THE CONCERN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS EXPRESSED WITH RESPECT TO THAT TRANSACTION REFLECTS THE GENERAL CONCERN WHICH WE HAVE ON THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH THE GERMANS AND HAVE BEGUN TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH THE BRAZILIANS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THIS MATTER WITH BOTH OF THEM, AND SEE WHETHER OR NOT WE CANNOT FIND A WAY TO OBLIGE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THESE TWO PLANTS. WE WANT TO WORK HARMONIOUSLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THEM, AND WE HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST STEPS TO DO SO.

25. Q SIR.

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26. SECRETARY VANCE: YES.

27. Q HAD YOU COME TO ANY CONCLUSION IN REGARD TO THE RELEASE OF NUCLEAR FUELS TO INDIA?

28. SECRETARY VANCE: NO. NO CONCLUSION HAS YET BEEN REACHED ON THAT. AS YOU KNOW, THAT HAS BEEN A MATTER THAT HAS BEEN UNDER STUDY FOR QUITE A LONG WHILE, AND AS YET, NO CONCLUSION HAS BEEN REACHED.

29. Q MARVIN KALB, CBS.

THE PRESIDENT SAID YESTERDAY THAT PERHAPS THE STATEMENT ABOUT SAKHAROV SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE BY HIM OR BY YOU. YET, THE DAY BEFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT MADE ITS STATEMENT ON SAKHAROV, IT DID COME OUT WITH A STATEMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHICH APPARENTLY HAD BEEN CLEARED. ARE YOU NOT RUNNING THE DANGER, SIR, OF SETTING UP WHAT AMOUNTS TO A DOUBLE STANDARD OF THE MANNER IN WHICH YOU

RESPOND TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN SMALLER COUNTRIES WHERE THERE IS NOT A DIRECT VITAL INTEREST CONFLICT?

30. SECRETARY VANCE: THIS IS A VERY COMPLEX AREA. AS

I INDICATED, WE WILL NOT BE SPEAKING OUT IN EVERY CASE.
WE WILL SPEAK OUT WHEN WE BELIEVE IT ADVISABLE TO DO SO,
BUT THAT WILL NOT BE, AS I SAID, IN EACH AND EVERY CASE.
IT IS AN AREA WHERE, AS I SAID, I THINK WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO MAKE OUR VIEWS FRANKLY KNOWN, BUT WE HOPE WE CAN DO IT WITHOUT BEING STRIDENT, AS I SAID, OR INTRUSIVE, IN AN IMPROPER WAY.

31. Q ISN'T THAT REALLY SETTING UP A KIND OF DOUBLE STANDARD WHERE THE DEPARTMENT, OR THE ADMINISTRATION, UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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MIGHT FEEL ITSELF MORE FREE IN CONDEMNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN SMALLER COUNTRIES WHERE THERE IS NOT A VITAL INTEREST AFFECTED?

32. SECRETARY VANCE: NO. I HOPE WE WILL NOT HAVE A DOUBLE STANDARD. I THINK WHAT WE HAVE DONE SO FAR WOULD INDICATE WE HAVE NOT.

YES, SIR.

33. Q ON THIS SAME SITUATION, THERE WERE REPORTS THAT YOU WERE UNHAPPY WITH THE STATEMENT MADE ON THE SAKHAROV SITUATION. I JUST WONDER IF YOU CAN TELL US WHO DID CLEAR THAT STATEMENT? I THINK THE PRESIDENT INDICATED YESTERDAY THAT HE DID NOT CLEAR IT. WHO DID CLEAR IT, AND WHETHER YOU FEEL THAT THIS IS AN INSTANCE IN WHICH YOU SHOULD NOT HAVE SPOKEN OUT?

34. SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME SAY, I DID NOT SEE IT; IT WAS CLEARED AT LOWER LEVELS. I AM NOT GOING TO GIVE THE NAME OF THE INDIVIDUAL. I HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AND THEREFORE, I ACCEPT THAT RESPONSIBILITY FULLY. LET ME SAY THAT I RESPECT MR. SAKHAROV VERY DEEPLY; I RESPECT HIS, MR. SAKHAROV'S, PRINCIPLES AND HIS PURSUIT OF THOSE PRINCIPLES.

35. Q YOUR PREDECESSOR FREQUENTLY SAID IN SPEECHES THAT NOT ONLY IS IT INADVISABLE, BUT RATHER IT IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, TO SPEAK OUT, SPECIFICALLY IN THE CASE OF SOVIET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION BY MINORITIES, INCLUDING JEWS, WHICH DROPPED SHARPLY AFTER THE UNITED STATES TRIED TO EXERT PRESSURE.

DO YOU SUBSCRIBE TO THAT THEORY PARTICULARLY, THAT SPEAKING OUT IS ACTUALLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE?

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36. SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT SHARE THAT VIEW.

37. Q IF YOU DON'T SHARE THAT VIEW, COULD YOU SAY
WHAT YOUR VIEW IS ON THAT SPECIFIC ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM?

38. SECRETARY VANCE: MY VIEW IS THAT AT TIMES WE WILL
FEEL IT APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY TO SPEAK OUT AND
THERE WILL BE OTHER TIMES WHEN WE WILL NOT.

39. Q MR. SECRETARY, GETTING BACK TO SALT, SOME
DOZEN CONGRESSMEN, DEMOCRATS ALL, HAVE ASKED THE ADMINIS-
TRATION TO SUSPEND DEVELOPMENT OF LONG-RANGE MISSILES,
A DECISION TAKEN IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE FORD ADMINISTRA-
TION, ON THE GROUNDS THAT NOTHING REALLY SERIOUSLY WOULD
BE LOST BY A TWO- OR THREE-MONTH SUSPENSION WHILE YOU
GO TO MOSCOW. CAN YOU TELL US, FIRST, WHAT YOUR VIEWS
ARE, AND SECONDLY, IF THEY ARE TO CONTINUE DEVELOPMENT,
WHAT IS THE RATIONALE FOR CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT OF ONE
OF THE MAJOR HANG-UPS IN THE SALT TALKS JUST SIX TO
EIGHT WEEKS BEFORE YOU GO TO MOSCOW TO SEE IF THEY CAN
BE PUT UNDER A TREATY? IS IT THE PENTAGON AGAINST THE
STATE DEPARTMENT AGAIN OR IS THERE SOME OTHER REASON.

40. SECRETARY VANCE: NO. I THINK THE ACTIONS WHICH
WILL BE TAKEN DURING THIS PERIOD IN WHICH OUR REVIEW IS
TAKING PLACE WILL NOT BE ACTIONS WHICH WILL BE SUCH AS
TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE CHANGES IN THE FUTURE.
THEREFORE, I THINK IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT THEY SHOULD GO
FORWARD DURING THIS PERIOD OF TIME IN WHICH WE ARE
GOING TO PLEAD OUR VIEW.

41. Q MR. SECRETARY, MARY MCGRORY, FROM THE
WASHINGTON STAR.

YOUR PREDECESSOR USED TO COMPLAIN A GREAT DEAL ABOUT
THE MEDDLING OF CONGRESS IN THE EXECUTION OF FOREIGN
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POLICY, AND THE PRESIDENT IN HIS FAREWELL SUGGESTED
CONGRESS REALLY OUGHT TO LEAVE IT TO THE EXECUTIVE AND
THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO RUN FOREIGN POLICY. HOW DO YOU
FEEL ABOUT DEMOCRACY AT HOME?

42. SECRETARY VANCE: INSOFAR AS THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS
IS CONCERNED, I FEEL VERY DEEPLY, AS I SAID DURING MY
CONFIRMATION HEARINGS, THAT YOU CANNOT HAVE AN EFFECTIVE
FOREIGN POLICY UNLESS IT IS DEVELOPED IN COORDINATION
WITH THE CONGRESS AND IMPLEMENTED IN COORDINATION WITH

THE CONGRESS. I FEEL VERY DEEPLY ON THIS SUBJECT, AND WE ARE GOING TO DO EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN TO SEE THAT WE PROCEED IN THAT FASHION.

43. Q OBERDORFER, WASHINGTON POST.

DO YOU EXPECT TO REOPEN THE TALKS WITH THE VIETNAMESE WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH OR TWO OR THREE, AND COULD YOU TELL US YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE VIETNAMESE BEING SEATED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES?

44. SECRETARY VANCE: I STATED DURING MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS THAT I THOUGHT IT WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO PROCEED TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, AND I HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO START THAT PROCESS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF THE SEATING OF THE VIETNAMESE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, I WOULD HOPE THE ISSUE WOULD NOT BE RAISED UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO START OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH RESPECT TO NORMALIZATION.

45. Q SUPPOSE IT IS RAISED. WHAT WOULD YOUR ATTITUDE BE?
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46. SECRETARY VANCE: WE WILL DECIDE THAT QUESTION WHEN IT ARISES.

47. Q MR. SECRETARY, WHEN YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT NORMALIZATION, SIR, WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS IN PURSUING THE ENTIRE COMPLICATED PROBLEM OF NORMALIZING U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA?

THAT HAS BEEN A POSTPONED QUESTION AND THE EXPECTATION HAD BEEN THAT WITH A NEW PRESIDENT, THE PROCESS WOULD GO FORTH SWIFTLY.

48. SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME POINT OUT WE ARE ONLY AT THE END OF OUR FIRST WEEK. I HAVE STATED THAT, IN SO FAR AS OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE CONCERNED, WE WILL PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE PACE AND THE MODE OF REACHING NORMALIZATION, THAT THIS IS A MATTER WHICH WE HAVE UNDER INTENSIVE REVIEW. I WOULD HOPE THAT WE CAN COMPLETE THAT REVIEW IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE, AND I THINK THERE REALLY IS NOTHING MORE THAT I CAN SAY AT

THIS POINT. I DO SUPPORT VERY STRONGLY THE GOAL OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

49. Q WHAT I WANT TO ASK YOU, SIR, IS DO YOU HAVE
SOME SORT OF A TIME-FRAME IN MIND WHEREBY THERE WOULD BE
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS?

50. SECRETARY VANCE: I DON'T HAVE ANY SPECIFIC DATE IN
MIND. I THINK THIS IS OBVIOUSLY A SUBJECT WE WILL HAVE
TO DISCUSS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND WHEN
WE HAVE COMPLETED OUR INTERNAL THINKING WITHIN THE
GOVERNMENT, THEN I THINK WE SHOULD PROCEED TO BEGIN TO
TALK TO THEM ABOUT THE QUESTION.

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51. Q MR. SECRETARY, JEFF ANTEVIL OF THE NEW YORK
DAILY NEWS.

WOULD YOU EXPLAIN A LITTLE FURTHER WHY YOU THINK
1977 WILL BE SUCH A CRITICAL YEAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND
SPECIFICALLY DO YOU SHARE MR. WALDHEIM'S VIEW THAT THERE
IS LIKELY TO BE A RESUMPTION OF WAR THERE IN THE NEXT
YEAR OR TWO UNLESS A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED?

52. SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD BE HAPPY TO DISCUSS THAT.

I THINK 1977 IS A CRITICAL PERIOD BECAUSE I THINK
AT THIS POINT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF FACTORS WHICH ARE
MORE CONDUCIVE TO A SETTLEMENT THAN HAVE BEEN PRESENT
IN THE PAST.

LET ME HASTEN TO SAY I DON'T WANT TO MINIMIZE THE
DIFFICULTIES WHICH LIE AHEAD. BUT AT THIS POINT, WE NO
LONGER ARE FACED WITH THE WAR IN LEBANON. THERE SEEMS
TO BE A GREATER COHESION AMONG THE FORCES FOR MODERATION
IN THE AREA. ALL OF THE PARTIES HAVE INDICATED A
WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED TO GENEVA AND TO PROCEED PROMPTLY.
THEREFORE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE FACTORS ARE RIGHT TO
PROCEED DURING THIS YEAR. I THINK IF THIS IS ALLOWED
TO DRAG OUT AND WE DO NOT PROCEED TO A CONFERENCE WITH
RESPECT TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE, THAT
ALL KINDS OF DISRUPTIVE FACTORS MAY OCCUR AND, THEREFORE,
I THINK IT'S INCUMBENT THAT WE PROCEED AS FAST AS WE
PROPERLY CAN TO TRY AND MOVE TO THAT POINT.

IT WOULD BE FOOLHARDY IN MY JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, TO
DO THIS UNTIL THE GROUND WORK HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY
EXPLORED AND PLANS HAVE BEEN ARRIVED AT, SO THAT THERE
IS A REALISTIC CHANCE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION COMING
OUT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

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THEREFORE I THINK ONE CANNOT AT THIS POINT TALK
ABOUT ANY SPECIFIC DATE, BUT I DO THINK IT IS PROPER AND
REASONABLE TO SAY THAT THERE SHOULD BE SUCH A CONFERENCE
IN THE YEAR 1977, AND INDEED I WOULD SAY THAT I THINK IT
IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT THERE BE SUCH A CONFERENCE
DURING THAT PERIOD.

53. Q BERNIE GWERTZMAN FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES.

DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR MIND ANY IDEA OF HOW TO GET OVER
THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WHICH HAS OBVIOUSLY HELD UP THE
GENEVA CONFERENCE NOW FOR MORE THAN A YEAR OR TWO?

54. SECRETARY VANCE: I DO HAVE SOME THOUGHTS ON THIS.
I PREFER NOT TO TALK ABOUT THEM AT THIS TIME, BUT LET
ME COMMENT ON THAT ISSUE.

THE PLO UP TO THIS POINT HAS REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE
THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST, OR TO ACCEPT THE FRAMEWORK
FOR NEGOTIATIONS UNDER UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.
UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW
PROGRESS CAN BE MADE.

IN SAYING THIS, HOWEVER, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT
WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE RECOGNITION OF THE
LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WILL BE
CRITICAL TO ANY PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF VIEWS HELD BY THE PARTIES
AS TO HOW ONE MIGHT ADDRESS THIS ISSUE. THIS IS ONE OF
THE SUBJECTS THAT I WOULD HOPE TO DISCUSS AND EXPECT TO
DISCUSS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES WHEN
I GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST. AND I HOPE THAT WHEN I COME
BACK FROM THAT TRIP I WILL HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING
OF WHAT THE COURSE IS TO FOLLOW IN THIS AREA.

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55. Q IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY THAT YOU YOURSELF OR
SOME DESIGNATED OFFICIAL MIGHT HAVE SOME DISCUSSIONS
WITH PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES?

56. SECRETARY VANCE: NOT AT THIS TIME, AS LONG AS THE
CIRCUMSTANCES ARE AS I INDICATED.

57. Q MR. SECRETARY, BARRIE DUNSMORE FROM ABC NEWS.

ON THE SUBJECT OF NORMALIZATION ANOTHER COUNTRY
COMES TO MIND, AND THAT IS CUBA. RECENTLY AMBASSADOR

YOUNG INDICATED THAT THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA MIGHT BE CONSIDERED A STABILIZING FACTOR. I AM

WONDERING IF YOU SHARE THAT VIEW TO BEGIN WITH, AND IF BY ANY CHANCE SAYING THINGS LIKE THAT IS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW TREND TOWARDS NORMALIZATION WITH CUBA?

58. SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK THERE ARE TWO POINTS WHICH YOU HAVE RAISED. FIRST, THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA.

I HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED THAT I THINK THAT IT IS APPROPRIATE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO SEEK NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES. I SAID, INSO FAR AS CUBA WAS CONCERNED, THAT I HOPED THAT THERE WOULD BE INDICATIONS THAT THEY WOULD BE ANXIOUS AND WILLING TO LIVE WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF NATIONS AND, IF THAT WERE THE CASE, THEN I HOPE WE COULD BEGIN THE PROCESS OF MOVING TOWARDS NORMALIZATION.

WITH RESPECT TO THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA, I THINK THE PRESENCE OF ANY OUTSIDE FORCES IS NOT HELPFUL TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. I THINK THAT THIS IS A MATTER THAT SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES.

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59. Q IT IS NOT THEREFORE A PREREQUISITE TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA?

60. SECRETARY VANCE: I DON'T WANT TO SET ANY PRE-CONDITIONS AT THIS POINT ABOUT WHATEVER DISCUSSIONS MIGHT TAKE PLACE.

61. Q MORT KONDRAKKE, NEW REPUBLIC.

THERE IS A REPORT IN THE NEW YORK POST THAT YOU WERE A MEMBER OF AN ORGANIZATION OF BUSINESSMEN AND LAWYERS SET UP TO OPPOSE LEGISLATION ON THE ARAB OIL BOYCOTT--ON THE ARAB OIL BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL.

IS THAT CORRECT, AND TO GO ON WITH IT, WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS --

62. SECRETARY VANCE: BEFORE YOU GO ON TO YOUR SECOND QUESTION, THE ANSWER IS NO. I WAS ASKED TO SERVE ON A COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF NEW YORK CITY. I WAS ASKED TO SERVE BY THE MAYOR, BY THE GOVERNOR, AND BY THE TWO SENATORS. WE WERE TO TAKE A LOOK AT A WHOLE RANGE OF PROBLEMS THAT AFFECTED THE FLIGHT OF BUSINESS FROM NEW YORK CITY.

THE PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITIES THAT I HAD WHEN I
WAS WORKING WITH THE COMMITTEE WERE TO TAKE A LOOK AT
THE PROFESSIONS AND TO SEE WHAT THINGS COULD BE DONE TO
TRY AND MAKE SURE THAT THE PROFESSIONS DID NOT FLEE FROM
NEW YORK CITY--AND BY THE PROFESSIONS I AM TALKING ABOUT
LAWYERS, ACCOUNTANTS AND THE LIKE.

THE GROUP ALSO HAD A NUMBER OF OTHER SUB-COMMITTEES.
ABOUT HALFWAY THROUGH THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE, OR MAYBE
TWO-THIRDS OF THE WAY THROUGH, I WAS NOMINATED TO THE
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POST WHICH I NOW HOLD. I WAS UNABLE TO COMPLETE MY
WORK ON THE COMMITTEE'S ACTIVITIES. I DID NOT HAVE ANY-
THING TO DO WITH ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH RESPECT TO ANY
BOYCOTT PROBLEMS.

63. Q MR. SECRETARY, WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON THE
BOYCOTT?

64. SECRETARY VANCE: WELL, I HAVE SAID BEFORE ON THE
BOYCOTT PROBLEM THAT I FULLY SUPPORT THE LEGISLATION
WHICH IS CURRENTLY ON THE BOOKS, AND THAT WE ARE COMMIT-
TED TO SUPPORT THAT LEGISLATION AND THAT WE WILL DO DO.

WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTIONS OF NEW LEGISLATION,
I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A LOOK AT THAT IN THE CONNECTION
OF THE OVERALL SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THERE WILL BE HEARINGS WITH RESPECT TO NEW LEGISLA-
TION. THOSE HEARINGS ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE PLACE UNTIL
MY RETURN FROM THE MIDDLE EAST.

I HAVE AGREED TO TESTIFY ON THE 28TH OF FEBRUARY
BEFORE SENATOR PROXMIRE'S COMMITTEE ON THIS ISSUE, AND
BY THAT TIME I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD HAVE A
GOVERNMENT-WIDE POSITION WHICH I WILL BE PREPARED TO
ENUNCiate AT THAT TIME.

65. Q KEN FREED, ASSOCIATED PRESS.

THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF TALK ABOUT REDUCING ARMS
SALES BY THE UNITED STATES.

COULD YOU OUTLINE THE PROGRAM AS YOU SEE IT NOW AND
DOES IT MEAN FEWER ARMS FOR ISRAEL, IRAN AND SAUDI
ARABIA?

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66. SECRETARY VANCE: WE HAVEN'T GOTTEN TO THE POINT
YET OF WHAT THE EFFECT WOULD BE ON INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO A BASIC PRINCIPLE AND THAT IS TO FIND
A WAY TO REDUCE THE SALE OF ARMS, NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED
STATES BUT BY OTHER NATIONS AROUND THE WORLD.

THIS IS A TERRIBLY IMPORTANT ISSUE AND ONE WHERE I
THINK IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE PROGRESS. IT IS NOT GOING
TO BE EASY. INDEED, I THINK IT IS GOING TO BE VERY,
VERY DIFFICULT. BUT I THINK THAT WE, AS THE LARGEST
SELLER OF ARMS, HAVE A PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY TO
FIRST PUT OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER, TO DETERMINE WHAT OUR
POLICY WILL BE, AND HAVING DONE THAT, THEN TO BEGIN TO
WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS TO SEE WHETHER WE CAN FIND
COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY THEY WILL PARTICIPATE
WITH US IN DEVELOPING PROGRAMS AND POLICIES FOR CARRYING
OUT THIS KIND OF A PROGRAM.

LET ME SAY THAT SOME OF THE THINGS THAT WE ARE LOOK-
ING AT, IN ADDITION TO WHAT OUR OWN U.S. POLICY SHOULD
BE, IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT IT WOULD BE CON-
STRUCTIVE TO ISSUE REGULATIONS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THAT
ANY ARMS MANUFACTURER IN THE UNITED STATES COME AND
RECEIVE PERMISSION FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT BEFORE THEY
EVEN APPROACH ANY COUNTRIES OVERSEAS WITH RESPECT TO
THE POSSIBILITY OF BUYING NEW ARMS.

MY OWN INCLINATION IS THAT THIS IS A VERY SENSIBLE
THING TO DO. IT IS SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE UNDER CONSID-
ERATION AND HAVE AS YET, HOWEVER, REACHED NO CONCLUSION
ON.

WE WILL BE TAKING A LOOK, AND A CAREFUL LOOK, AT
THE VARIOUS NEW PROPOSALS AS THEY COME IN AND THEN
HOPEFULLY APPLY THE STANDARDS WHICH WE HAVE REACHED TO
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THOSE.

LET ME SAY A BIT ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST, THOUGH,
AND WHAT THE STANDARDS ARE WHICH WE HAVE BEEN APPLYING
TO THE QUESTION OF SALES OF ARMS IN THAT AREA.

WE HAVE SAID, FIRST, THAT THE ARMS MUST SATISFY OR
MUST BE FITTED TO THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS OF THE
COUNTRY CONCERNED.

SECONDLY, THAT THEY MUST BE LOOKED AT IN RESPECT TO THEIR EFFECT ON THE OVERALL SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THESE ARE TWO VERY FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES THAT ARE PROPER AND SHOULD BE APPLIED.

I THINK OVER HERE WE HAD A QUESTION.

67. Q WOULD YOU SUPPORT A MUTUAL ARMS BAN WITH THE RUSSIANS WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST? THAT'S BEEN PROPOSED A NUMBER OF TIMES TO THE SOVIETS. I THINK THEY HAVE REJECTED IT. WOULD YOU BE IN FAVOR OF RENEWING SUCH A PROPOSAL?

68. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. I THINK IT'S A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL. I THINK, QUITE FRANKLY, IT'S UNREALISTIC, UNTIL YOU GET A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

69. Q SIR, YOU SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN STUDYING FOR SOME TIME NOW WHAT TO DO ABOUT SUPPLIES OF NUCLEAR FUEL TO OTHER COUNTRIES. BRAZIL HAS BEEN WAITING FOR ABOUT THREE YEARS NOW TO HAVE CONFIRMATION FOR SOME FUEL FOR ITS REACTORS, AND IT'S GIVEN AS ONE OF THE REASONS THAT THE COUNTRY DECIDED TO GO--TO HAVE ITS OWN FACILITIES TO ENRICH URANIUM. SHOULD BRAZIL WAIT UNTIL THE UNITED STATES FINISHED ITS STUDY--WHICH IT CANNOT

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SAY WHEN IT WILL HAPPEN? AND DO YOU THINK IN THE SAME AREA, SIR, BRAZIL IS UNDER A GREAT CURIOSITY ABOUT WHAT THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO DO WITH REGIMES IN LATIN AMERICA THAT ARE NOT DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED? WHAT CAN YOU SAY ABOUT THIS?

70. SECRETARY VANCE: WELL, LET ME TAKE YOUR FIRST QUESTION.

I WOULD HOPE VERY MUCH THAT BRAZIL AND GERMANY WOULD WAIT UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO FURTHER DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF WHAT ALTERNATIVES ARE THERE TO PROCEEDING WITH THE REPROCESSING PLANT OR WITH ENRICHED URANIUM FACILITIES. THIS SUBJECT HAS BEEN UNDER STUDY FOR A WHILE WITH THE PRIOR GOVERNMENT. WE ARE VERY FRESHLY IN OFFICE AND HAVE BEEN STUDYING IT VERY INTENSIVELY. IT WILL TAKE US A LITTLE WHILE TO COMPLETE OUR STUDIES, AND I THINK IT WOULD BE NOT ONLY HELPFUL BUT IMPORTANT THAT NOTHING BE DONE UNTIL WE'VE HAD A CHANCE THOROUGHLY TO EXPLORE THIS WITH BOTH COUNTRIES.

71. Q MR. SECRETARY -- TO FOLLOW UP MR. WALLACH'S QUESTION OF A MOMENT AGO. WOULD THE UNITED STATES

CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY UNILATERALLY OF REDUCING ARMS SALES TO COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITHOUT AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A COMMON APPROACH TO REDUCING ARMS SALES?

72. SECRETARY VANCE: THIS WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS WITH THE CONSUMER, AS WELL AS AMONG OURSELVES, BEFORE WE COULD ARRIVE AT ANY CONCLUSION ON THAT, MR. KALB.

73. Q MR. SECRETARY, SCOTT SULLIVAN OF NEWSWEEK.

YOU ARE GOING TO MEET WITH MR. BOYD THIS MORNING.

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COULD YOU GIVE US SOME OF YOUR THINKING ON HOW IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO BREAK THE LOGJAM IN THE PANAMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS, GIVEN THAT THE PANAMANIANS REQUIRE THAT SOVEREIGNTY REVERT TO THEM IN THE YEAR 2000 AND THAT THE AMERICAN CONCERN IS TO KEEP THE CANAL OPEN AND NEUTRAL INDEFINITELY?

74. SECRETARY VANCE: YES, I DO HAVE SOME IDEAS ON THIS. WE WILL BE DISCUSSING SOME OF THESE IDEAS TODAY WITH MR. BOYD. I HOPE THAT HE WILL HAVE SOME IDEAS ON HIS SIDE. I THINK IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO COMMENT AT THIS PRESS CONFERENCE ON IT, BUT IT WILL BE A SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION TODAY AT OUR MEETING.

75. Q WHEN YOU GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST, WILL YOU EXTEND INVITATIONS TO ALL THE LEADERS TO COME TO THIS COUNTRY, AND HOW WILL YOU ISSUE THE PROBLEM (SIC) OF PRIME MINISTER RABIN?

76. SECRETARY VANCE: I'M SORRY. I COULDN'T HEAR YOU.

77. Q WILL YOU ISSUE INVITATIONS TO ALL OF THE ARAB LEADERS AND TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO COME TO THIS COUNTRY? AND, AGAIN, WHAT WILL YOU DO ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF PRIME MINISTER RABIN WITH THE ELECTION COMING UP?

78. SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD EXTEND INVITATIONS TO ALL OF THE LEADERS TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT, INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER RABIN.

79. Q MR. SECRETARY, IS IT YOUR VIEW THAT PUTTING PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA IS PROBABLY THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND QUICKEST MEANS OF BRINGING ABOUT SOME MOVEMENT IN THE RHODESIAN SITUATION?

80. SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK THAT SOUTH AFRICA CAN

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PLAY A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS AREA. WE HAVE BEEN
IN CONSTANT COMMUNICATION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND
WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

81. Q DO YOU SHARE AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VIEW THAT, WHEN
SOUTH AFRICA SAYS TO RHODESIA "NEGOTIATE," THEY HAVE TO
NEGOTIATE?

82. SECRETARY VANCE: I DON'T THINK IT'S REALLY QUITE
THAT SIMPLE.

83. Q MR. SECRETARY, SOME PAPERS AWHILE AGO REPORTED
THAT SOME OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY STAFF
SUGGESTED THE U.S. OPEN ITS DOOR TO NORTH KOREA TO ACHIEVE
A SORT OF DETENTE IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA. DO YOU TAKE
SUCH CONSIDERATION INTO YOUR ACCOUNT IN DEALING WITH
THE KOREAN QUESTION?

84. SECRETARY VANCE: ON THE KOREAN QUESTION, WE WILL
DO NOTHING WITHOUT FULL AND COMPLETE CONSULTATION WITH
THE SOUTH KOREANS.

85. Q -- FRANCOIS CHATEL, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE DEAL--NUCLEAR DEAL--
BETWEEN BRAZIL AND GERMANY--THAT IS, APPLIED TO THE DEAL
BETWEEN FRANCE AND PAKISTAN? IN OTHER WORDS, WOULD YOU
LIKE TO SPECIFICALLY CONSULT PROPOSALS MADE BEFORE THE
TWO COUNTRIES GO THROUGH WITH THE DEAL?

86. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. AS I SAID, OUR CONCERNS
ABOUT PROLIFERATION APPLY ACROSS THE BOARD AND NOT JUST
TO ONE OR TWO COUNTRIES AND, THEREFORE, WE WOULD HOPE
THAT IN EACH OF THESE CASES WAYS COULD BE FOUND TO NOT
PROCEED WITH REPROCESSING PLANTS.

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87. Q AND ARE YOU--IN THE CASE OF PAKISTAN--ARE YOU
HOPEFUL THAT THE DEAL WILL GO THROUGH?

88. SECRETARY VANCE: I REALLY HAVEN'T GOTTEN DEEPLY
ENOUGH INTO THAT TO EXPRESS EITHER HOPE OR LACK OF HOPE
AT THIS POINT.

89. Q MR. SECRETARY --

90. SECRETARY VANCE: YES.

91. Q -- THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE A MAJOR COMMITMENT TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS IN FOREIGN POLICY. ON THE KOREAN QUESTION, ARE YOU PLANNING SPECIFIC PRESSURE TO MOVE TOWARD THAT GOAL IN SOUTH KOREA?

92. SECRETARY VANCE: THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS OBVIOUSLY ONE WHICH WE WILL BE DISCUSSING WITH THE KOREANS. I THINK THAT I SHOULD SAY NOTHING MORE THAN THAT AT THIS POINT.

93. Q AS THIS IS YOUR FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE, SIR, PERHAPS IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WE COULD HAVE ON THE RECORD YOUR GENERAL VIEWS OF YOUR ATTITUDE ON PRESS POLICY.

94. SECRETARY VANCE: YES. I'D BE VERY HAPPY TO TALK ABOUT THAT.

AS I PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, I HAVE RATHER DEEP CONVICTIONS ABOUT THE NECESSITY TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS IN DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING FOREIGN POLICY. I ALSO BELIEVE VERY STRONGLY THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO INFORM THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AS TO WHAT OUR OBJECTIVES ARE, TO EXPLAIN WHY WE HOLD THESE OBJECTIVES, AND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN HOW WE INTEND TO PROCEED IN ACHIEVING THESE OBJECTIVES. AND TO THAT END I WANT TO GIVE AS

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MUCH TIME AS I POSSIBLY CAN TO WORKING WITH THE PRESS IN OPEN SESSIONS TO EXPLAIN WHAT OUR OBJECTIVES ARE AND HOW WE INTEND TO ACHIEVE THEM. AND TO THAT END, AS I HAVE INDICATED, I WILL HOLD AN OPEN PRESS CONFERENCE WITH YOU AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.

WHEN I GO ON A TRIP, I WOULD INTEND TO SPEAK WITH THE PRESS IN AN OPEN FASHION, ON-THE-RECORD IN ALMOST ALL CASES. AND I AM GOING TO TRY AND MAKE PEOPLE IN OUR DEPARTMENT MORE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS SO THAT THEY CAN SPEAK WITH YOU AND KEEP YOU UP TO DATE WITH WHAT IS GOING ON IN OUR OPERATIONS HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT.

95. Q I WONDERED IF YOU WOULD MAKE KNOWN TO CHILE THE NEW ATTITUDE OF THIS GOVERNMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SPECIFICALLY, I'D LIKE TO KNOW WHAT REPRESENTATIONS YOU AND THE DEPARTMENT MADE TO THEM ABOUT SENDING A PERSON ALLEGED TO BE A TORTURER TO THIS COUNTRY ON A GOODWILL TOUR.

96. SECRETARY VANCE: MR. LAVIN IS NO LONGER IN THIS

COUNTRY. I THINK IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO TALK ABOUT WHAT INDIVIDUALLY HAS PASSED BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE CHILEANS ON THIS. WE WILL CONVEY OUR VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES, AS I SAID, BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY.

97. Q THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY.

98. SECRETARY VANCE: THANK YOU. VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE
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